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[For discussion of agnatic relationship as an integrative principle in the Altaic-speaking steppe societies, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, category 116, pp. 549-568.]

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essential than the linguistic one, uniting Central Asia with Constantinople.[1]

A brief review of the Pan-Turanian programme will be necessary before approaching the main object of this essay, i.e. the study of the Eastern or Central Asiatic Turks. The term Central Asia, in accordance with Humboldt's definition, embraces the area lying between the Himalayas and the Altai Mountains, the Caspian Sea and Khingan Range. As far as the Western or Osmanly Turks are concerned, they are dealt with in several recent publications, namely, Sir William Ramsay's *The Intermixture of Races in Asia Minor* (Oxford University Press, 1916), Professor H. A. Gibbon's *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford University Press, 1916), Lord Eversley's *The Turkish Empire: its Growth and Decay* (Fisher Unwin, 1917), and *Le Problème Turc*, by Count Léon Ostroróg.[2] Though not dealing primarily with the racial question, these books give a vivid picture of the variety of races living under Osmanly (Ottoman) government, and of the artificiality of the ties that unite them. Sir William Ramsay further tells us how the Osmanly government has tried to develop feelings of unity and patriotism among its subjects on the ground of the common participation in the Islamic religion. But Pan-Islamism—Islam not being exclusively the property of the Turks—would in itself hardly serve to strengthen the position of the Turkic elements of the empire against Arabian and

[1] Since these pages were written the British advance in Asiatic Turkey, together with the situation produced by the Russian Revolution, has led the German-Osmanly diplomatists to revise some 'details' of their programme. See Appendix B.

[2] An English version of this work, entitled *The Turkish Enigma*, in Winifred Stephens's translation, has just been announced by Messrs. Chatto & Windus.

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other alien Mahometans. To give prominence to the Turkic element was not so simple, considering that five centuries of residence in Europe have influenced the ruling classes of the Osmanly in such a way that they have completely lost contact with the Turkic masses subject to their rule; while these, again, by mixture and contact with the races of Asia Minor and south-eastern Europe, have lost the Asiatic character that they once possessed. Yet the upper classes of the Osmanly did not become thoroughly Europeanized, as the Hungarians did under similar conditions, and hence their chances of assimilating the lands and peoples that they conquered in Europe were almost non-existent even before the Balkan War. After that war, there was nothing left to the Osmanly but to turn to Asia, upon which they look as a land of expansion and of compensation for what they have lost in Europe. Hence, a justification for this change of policy was necessary, and this was easily found in the so-called principle of the self-determination of nationalities. The Osmanly thereupon proclaimed themselves to be of one nationality with the people of the far Asiatic lands of Turkestan, Jungaria, and the Siberian steppes.

It may be argued that there is something in the political atmosphere of our century which makes people revert, as it were, to past ages. All who have affinities with both Europe and Asia seem to be ready now to claim their Asiatic blood, as we see that the Bulgarians, the Hungarians, and the Siberian Russians are doing.

But in the case of the Osmanly the sincerity of such a movement becomes doubtful, when we consider that the Osmanly *intelligentsia* have so far never felt themselves at one even with their own Osmanly common people. Thus they have never passed, as have the

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educated classes of the European countries, through a stage of 'folklorization' and 'nationalization' due to contact with the masses, who through their backwardness preserve more of their national traditions. Even the Revolution of the 'Young Turks' did not bring about the breakdown of the caste distinction, and it was, in fact, like all other events in the political history of the Osmanly, a mere imitation of the Western nations, rather than a spontaneous outbreak of national feeling against imperialistic government. There is no doubt that such a truly national movement did begin when some years before the Balkan War a literary attempt led by Ziya Bey, Ahmed Shinassy Bey, and Namyk Kemal Bey, was made to purify the Osmanly language from its Arabian and Persian admixture. It is noteworthy that two of those leaders, Ziya Bey (later Pasha) and Kemal Bey, when exiled from Turkey by Sultan Abd-ul-Aziz for their political ideas, found refuge in London. But, before their brilliant writings brought about any literary revival or social revolution, the movement was checked by the subsequent political action of the 'Young Turks', or strictly speaking by the Committee of Union and Progress (Ittikhad), after they successfully abolished the influence of the more sound rival group, the Committee of Unity and Freedom (Ittilaf). The Pan-Islamic propaganda—bound up as it is with the Arabic language and culture—when carried on by that party in non-Turkic Islamic countries, ran contrary to the attempts of the literary reformers to free themselves from foreign culture. Meanwhile, the political and economic dependence on Germany imposed by the ruling classes on the Osmanly country did not favour the further development of linguistic and other internal reforms.

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619 and subdivided into the Arghyn, Naĭman, Kipchak, and Konkrat tribes.

3. Kichik-yūz (Kichik-jus) or Little Orda, living between the Aral Sea and the lower Volga, and subdivided into the Alchin and Yabbas tribes.

• 565 At the present time the 'hordes' of the Kaizak intermingle to a great extent, but class distinctions within the hordes are still upheld. The nobility, called Tiuri or Ak-sōk, i.e. 'White Bones', trace their ancestry from Jinghis Khan, notwithstanding that the latter was a Mongol. All the other people are called Kara-sōk, i.e. 'Black Bones'. Some old legal customs still disregard the Russian law, as e.g. that of *baranta*, or revenge for a wrong inflicted on one tribesman or clansman, by carrying away the culprit's or his clansmen's herd.

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618 Like the other Turks, the Kaizak base their social structure upon a patriarchal system. It is very difficult to define what should be called a clan among the Turks of Central Asia, in the sense in which that term is used in dealing with Africa and Australia. There seems to be a conception of a political group, called among both the Kirghis and the Kaizak *uruk* or *ru*, with its head, *bey*, *bi*, or *serdar* (possibly a confederation of such clans was once called *el*), while a group of families affiliated by blood is called by the Kaizak *taypas* or *tayfa* (by the Kirghis *kyrk*). The head of such a sub-clan, based on blood relationship, is called *ak-sakal*. An amalgamation of several sub-clans forms a *sōk* (clan).

If a clan 'sōk' increases in size, and wishes to divide or to migrate, the departive group sometimes takes as a name the word for the number of the sub-clans of which it is composed, e.g. *On* ('ten'), *Yur* ('a hundred'); or

M. 182 614 T.P. 182 614 Mongol could claim descent from a common ancestor with his ruler Chingis Khan; the lowliest Kazakh could make a similar claim in regard to his khan, as could a Kalmuk. The steppe society has a structure which may be likened to a set of concentric circles, the widest circle being the whole of Mongol society, the next widest a principality, the next a clan, the next a lineage or set of lineages internally disposed in the same manner, the next the village, and the smallest the extended family. M. 182 614 565 T.P. 182 614 565 The comparison to a set of concentric circles must be qualified, however, because not all Mongols or Kazakh-Kirgiz are of equal birth; descent lines are collaterally ranked in terms of the birth-order of the respective founders, and at a certain point in the genealogical history of these lines, the highest ranking lineages have assumed noble status, while the others have remained in the commoner estate. The point in genealogical history when the society was split into two estates may be an event recorded in 'objective' history, such as the establishment of an empire, or a war, etc. In any case, it is an event outside the domain of kinship proper. The sibs do not form into a hierarchy of concentric structures; they are more like Kirchhoff's egalitarian clans.

M. 182 614 T.P. 182 614 The sib has had a set of political functions, even though such functions may be less spectacular than those of the clan and of the society with which the clan is

M. 182 614 T.P. 182 614

associated. The sib has served as a unit of administration by outside powers such as the Chinese, who have appointed sib leaders as the rulers of administrative units into which the sibs have been organized. But the sib is not a territorial unit; one's neighbor is not necessarily a fellow sib-mate. Despite the differences in structure and in kinship and political function, the sib of the Asiatic steppe parallels the clan in many respects: kinship is basically agnatic in both; authority is 'transmitted in the line of the eldest sons; if the eldest son's line dies out, it passes to the senior surviving brother; and if there is none such, to the next ranking father's brother, and so forth.

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In regard to pastoral nomadic society of the steppe, the whole is consanguineally related in fact or fiction; however, there is a sharp cleavage between the clan and broader groupings than the clan on the one hand; and between the clan and its component units, such as the lineage, on the other. Only the clan and units larger than the clan, such as the principality, the khanate, etc., are divided into noble and commoner estates; the lineage and the extended family are homogeneously composed of either aristocrats or commoners, but not both. For this reason we may regard the clan not only as having a structure based on consanguinity, but also as a politico-military unit. The politico-military character of the division into estates is ultimately derived from a kinship

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principle; but this is a purely genetic consideration. In actual function, the estates are politically, militarily, and economically distinct divisions. Thus the entire society of the Asiatic steppe is anomalous, for its major units are quasi-political and quasi-consanguineal structures. Because of their consanguineal character, the clan and other major units therefore will be briefly sketched in their specific forms for each of the societies, Buryat, Kalmuk, and so forth. As consanguineal structures, their analysis will afford insight into the kinship relations within smaller units. Nevertheless they cannot be a primary consideration in the analysis of kinship systems because they go beyond this mode of human relationship into the domain of political structure, etc.

Village and Family

M. 182 621 T.P. 182 621

The nomadic village on the Asiatic steppe is formed of a cluster of related families who pasture their herds together, camp together, nomadize together, combine for mutual protection and for religious rites. The village is a unit of local government having at its head an elder who, in company with other respected men of the community, guides its affairs and regulates its conduct, movements and relations with other units, larger, smaller, and co-equal. The elder, who is the head of the senior family of the village, together with his compeers, the heads of